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IV.—A SLAVIC ANALOGY TO VERNER'S LAW.

Interchange of voiced and unvoiced consonants in "root doublets" as well as in root determinatives and suffixes is a frequent phenomenon. But while instances like I. E. **sk(h)eit-* : **sk(h)eid-*, on the one hand, and *-to-* : *-do-*, or *-go-* : *-go-* on the other hand, are common enough, a definite phonetic formula for this interchange (restricted to spirants) has so far been found only for the Germanic languages, namely, Verner's Law.

In presenting some traces of a possibility of a similar phonetic principle in the Slavic languages, I am fully aware of two important facts; first, that the connection between I. E. accent and this interchange as illustrated in the meager number of examples presented below is by no means firmly established; second, that the interchange is not limited to spirants. For the first shortcoming, our present imperfect knowledge of I. E. accent as represented in Slavic may serve as a partial excuse; as to the second point, I hope to show in a forthcoming paper on the phonetic aspects of the Germanic soundshifting that the Germanic restriction of the law to spirants is only casual, and not an inherent phonetic necessity.

The material I am able to submit at present is incomplete, and rather an illustration than a conclusive evidence.

I. p : b (bh).

Slavic (in most cases, the Slavic forms are quoted according to Berneker, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*) *drapati* : *drabъ*; Russ. *dr'apatъ*, 'scratch, bite', perhaps connected with **drasati* < **drap-sati*, Boh. *drasta*, 'splinter, rag, dress'¹—Boh. *z-draby*, 'rags' (Lith. *dròbė*, 'linen, sheet', Lett. *drēbe*, 'cloth, dress'. Perhaps also Bulg. *dripa* 'rag, outworn dress', **dripati* 'tear', *droba*, 'fraction, fragment', **drobiti*, 'break up'. Compare Goth. *ga-draban* 'aushauen', O. E. *drepan*, 'hit', etc.?

¹ Berneker, Et. WB, from which a large number of the given etymologies are taken.

glqbokъ : *glupъ* ; O. Bg. *glqbokъ* 'deep', Gk. γλύφω, 'excavate', L. *glubo*, 'peel', O. H. G. *klioban* 'split'. Russ. *glupъ*, 'deaf', etc. The latter are taken as borrowings (common Slavic) from Germ. **glopa*-, 'idiot'; but the development of meaning from 'deep, hollow' to 'deaf, stupid' presents no great difficulties. Perhaps **glopa*-, 'grief' may be connected.

O. B. *chapati* 'bite' : O. B. *chabiti*, 'spoil, harm'; Uhlenbeck sees in the former a Germanic loan word (Dutch *happen*), while Berneker considers it an independent sound imitation in Slavic.

O. B. *sypati* 'pour, scatter'; Russ. *sybatъ*, 'throw'. I. E. root doublet **sueip*-, **sueib*-, Walde, Lat. Et. Wb., *dissipo*.

II. t : d (dh).

O. B. *badati*, 'pierce', Serv. *bàdaj*, 'Stecken zum Antreiben eines Tiers'—O. B. *batъ*, 'oak stick', *batati* 'beat'. Perhaps to Lat. *con-fūto* 'schlage nieder', O. H. G. *Batu*-, 'Kampf'.—O. B. *bosti* (*bodq*) 'stechen, schlagen (besonders mit den Hörnern)', Lat. *fodio*, 'dig' are hardly connected.

gadati 'meinen'—*gatati* 'vermuten'.

cēditi 'absehen, klären', to I. E. root doublet **sk(h)ei-d*-, *t*-.

gnētiti, 'anfachen' (Zunder) : *gnēdъ* 'brown'; As to development of meaning, compare Lat. *nīdor*, 'Qualm', Walde, Lat. E. W., 412 f.

brotъ 'Färberröte'—*brudъ* 'Schmutz'. Possible connections of the former given by Berneker.

godъ 'year, fitting time', connected with words denoting suitability, pleasure, etc. (see Berneker), perhaps to Goth. *gōþs* 'good', might be connected with *gotovъ* 'ready, finisht', which is usually connected with Goth. **ga-taws* (Mikosich, Uhlenbeck; Berneker rejects the connection and rather thinks of Alb. *gat* 'bereit').

gatъ 'Gewürm, Schlange' (O. P. *gidan* 'Scham')—*gata* 'Hode'.

jedinъ 'one', *jedva* 'hardly', may well belong to Gk. ἕτε, L. *et*, Skr. *āti*, etc.; *inъ* < **oinos*, while the first element of *jedinъ* may have either intensifying or adding meaning: 'just one' or 'one more'.—*va* demonstrative suffix, 'just so', see Berneker.

gospodъ 'master' which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, may well be connected with I. E. **potis* 'master'; Berneker 236.

Suffix *-to-* appears in I. E. accented and unaccented; *-do-*, rather rare otherwise, is surprisingly frequent in Slavic; similarly, *-dlo-* (*-dhlo-*?) has, in Slavic, taken largely the place of the *-tro-*, *-tlo-*suffix. E. g.:

čedo 'child', usually considered a Germanic loan word. Berneker; "Ob nicht ein zufälliger Gleichklang täuscht? Vielleicht gehört č. mit formans *-do-* zu *čьnq*, *četi* als "Empfängnis, Leibesfrucht"; vgl. zur gleichen Wurzel ai. *kanyā*, *kanā* 'Mädchen', etc.

čudo 'wonder', to L. *caveo* < **coveo*; with **goutóm* compare O. B. *čuti*, 'feel', Serv. *čuvati* 'guard'. The same connection is made by Walde, L. E. W. 107, while Berneker refers to Gk.

crěda 'herd' may be borrowed from Germanic (Goth. *hairda*, etc.), but may be Slavic, from **qer-* at the side of **ker-*.

gordъ, O. B. *gradъ* 'city', etc., need not be borrowed from Germanic, but may be connected both with Goth. *gards*, etc., and with L. *hortus*, Gk. *χópros* on the basis of **ghortó-s*; Lith. *gar̃das* and *žardis* do not speak against this since "Phrygisch und Albanesisch zeigen, dass hier idg. *ǵh* und *gh* wechseln" (Berneker).

Other words with *-do-* suffixes are given by Meillet, *Études sur l'Étymologie*, 319 ff.

For the *-dlo-* (*-dhlo-*?) suffix compare, e. g., *bydlo* 'dwelling', but Lith. *buklas* 'Lager eines Tiers'.

-tro-: *-dro-* in *qtro*, *etro* 'intestines', *edro* 'bosom'.

III. k : g (gh).

blagъ 'starrköpfig', to I. E. **mlaqó-*, Gk. *βλακός* 'schlaff, lässig', Lat. *flaccus* 'welk, schlaff'.

braga 'Maische': Ir. *braich*.

bergъ 'shore, slope', is considered 'urslavische Entlehnung aus dem Germanischen' (Berneker); may be cognate with it through I. E. **bherqó-* (but Av. *barəzo*, Arm. *barjɛr* point to *ǵh*).

drogъ 'pole, beam': *drokъ* 'Stössel, Traubenstössel'. Berneker compares the first with O. N. *drangr* 'Stange, die aus der Erde ragt', the latter he considers a sound variation of L. *truncus*.

dьrkati 'gleiten': *dьrgati* 'ziehen, zupfen, reiben'.

мьnogъ 'much' often considered a loan word from Germanic (Got. *manags*); rather to I. E. **mon-oqó-*.

možь 'man' from I. E. **mon-qió* (compare Got. *mannisks*).

IV a. s : z.

That Slav. *s* with the accent following can become *z* (especially in the combination *-sn-* has been shown by Zupitza, KZ. 37, 369 f. and Uhlenbeck KZ. 39, 599 f. In addition to the instances given there I wish to mention:

bez- : *bes-*, *raz-* : *ras-*, *iz-* : *is-*, *vs-* : *vsz* cannot always be explained by assimilation, but I should rather think of such accent differences as in Gk. *χαρίς*—*ávis*. Cf. Meillet, l. c., 153 f.

česati 'kämmen, abstreifen' : *čeznǫti* 'verschwinden, erlöschen'.

čsьnъ 'Licht, Lichtung' : *čzъ* 'flache Stelle am Ufer'.

dreska 'splinter' : *drezga* 'faggots'.

kosa 'hair' : *koža* 'skin' (suffix *-iō-*); also *koza* 'goat' may be related, see Walde, EW. under *cohus*.

prazь 'ram' : O. B. *prasē* 'pig' (L. *porcus*).

IV b. s -ch : z -g.

In Slavic, *s* becomes *ch* after *u*, *i*, *r*, *k*. If a change from *s* to *z* had taken place, it is reasonable to suppose that this *z*, under the same or similar conditions, shifted to the corresponding voiced spirant, for which the spelling would doubtlessly be *g*. We may, therefore, be prepared to find an occasional change from *s* to *ch* or *g*, or from *ch* to *g* or *z*. Moreover, such an interchange is not necessarily restricted to the preceding sounds above mentioned, but at least its possibility must be admitted also after other sounds. Vondrák, Slav. Gr. 350 says: "Es gibt aber zahlreiche Fälle mit *ch* aus *s*, bei denen diese Bedingungen nicht vorhanden sind. So können wir auch hier die Erscheinung beobachten, dass ein neu aufgekommener Laut über die Grenzen seiner ursprünglichen Berechtigung greift". Still, until further proof is given, instances in which *s* > *ch* appears after other sounds must be accepted with caution. Included among the sounds requiring the regular change are the diphthongs and their phonetic developments, but also unaccented *o* which frequently falls together with *u* may have had the same effect.

grěchъ 'sin' : *grěza* 'confusion'. *grěchъ* belongs to stems with *s*, e. g., *grěso* 'I sin'; it is often connected with *grějo* 'warm, burn' (Böhtlingk, Miklosich, Pedersen, see Berneker, l. c., 351, where it is referred to Gk. *χρίω*). *grěza* is unexplained.

slyšati 'hear' : *sluga* 'servant'. The former belongs to **kleu-*, with determinative *-s-*; the latter, I believe, belongs to the same stem (as "der Hörige"); Walde, with Žubaty, AfSPh, XV 479, connects it with Ir. *sluagh* 'army, crowd'.

gasiti 'extinguish' : *-gaga* 'thirst'?

drusati 'shake' : *drъgati* 'tremble'.

duzati 'push, crowd, rush' : *duchъ* 'spirit'? Osten-Sacken IF 22, 314.

bogъ 'god' : *běsъ* 'demon'; the first is considered a loan word from Iranian (perhaps Scythian), but may be connected with *běsъ* on the basis of an I. E. **bho(ǵ)d-so-* (**bhod-só-* : **bhǵid-so-*).

-go, ending of the G. S. M., N. of the pronominal declension (*togo*, etc.) is a riddle; Vondrák, Sl. Gr. II 90 considers it an emphatic particle (Skr. *gha*), but I should rather take it as a development from I. E. *-so*, compare Pruss. *s-tesse*, or the Slavic interrogative, genitive *česo*, *čъso*. Development from **to-só* to **to-go* is probable if *s* > *ch* after unaccented *o* is admissible, but a number of analogical formations would have to be supposed for forms like *čъso* instead of **čъgo*, *jego* instead of **jeso* or **jezo*.

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